

Smith's invisible hand. It is not some law of gravity. The only inevitability about what is happening to family farmers is the inevitability of a stacked deck. If we change policies and give them leverage so they can get a decent price in the marketplace, if we take on some of these conglomerates and put free enterprise in the food industry, and if we move forward on trade policy, we can make a huge difference.

This is an issue that goes to the heart and soul of what America is about. America, if you are listening to what we are saying in the Senate, this is all about the country, this is about food scarcity, this is about getting food at a price you can afford. It is about who is going to own the land. This is about whether or not we are going to have a rural America. This is about whether we are going to have a few conglomerates muscle their way to the dinner table and exercise their power over all phases of the industry—over the producers, over the consumers, over the taxpayers—or whether we are committed to a family farm structure in agriculture.

I come from a State, Minnesota, where family farmers are really important. They are so important to my State, but they are important to our country. I hope and pray over the next 2 months we will take action in Congress that will make a positive difference and will change this policy.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, before I begin my remarks, I ask unanimous consent that Senator FEINGOLD and Senator REED each be given 10 minutes at the conclusion of Senator DORGAN's time. Of course, if people from the other side want that courtesy, we will be happy to support that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, before Senator WELLSTONE leaves the floor, I thank him. I thought his comments were very poignant, and what he is addressing is some of the unfinished business of this body, things we have to take care of. Certainly one of them is the problems of the family farmer.

#### EAST TIMOR

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I add my voice in praising Senator FEINGOLD for his leadership in the Foreign Relations Committee, on which I serve, on this whole issue of East Timor.

There are some things we can do very quickly in the Senate to send a message to Indonesia that we will not stand by and see this violation of human rights occur. We have some leverage. We have some agreements. We can make a difference.

#### THANKING THE CHAPLAIN

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I thank the Chaplain today for his very inclusive prayer, calling to our attention the things we take for granted, the good people around here who work so hard and always do it in a way that makes us feel as though we are not asking them to work very hard, and we are asking them to work very hard. They are always pleasant. That includes the staff on both sides. I thank the Chaplain for that.

#### UNFINISHED BUSINESS

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I rise today, first of all, to say it is good to be back in the Senate because I am very hopeful we can do something, in the remaining days and weeks we have, to make life better for the people we represent. I also have had some wonderful interaction with the people of my State. They have some very strong opinions on many of the issues facing us.

I think the message I got more than anything was, can't you get together on both sides of the aisle and address the issues that impact our daily lives? I certainly think that is an appropriate sentiment.

That is not to say that the Congress shouldn't be doing its oversight investigations, be it the Waco incident or what has occurred in Russia. I am not against any of that. I am for that. But we have to do everything around here. We have to do the oversight, but we also have to pay attention to business.

There is an article in today's Washington Post written by Elizabeth Drew, who wrote a book called "The Corruption of American Politics: What Went Wrong and Why." She has a very interesting article called "Try Governing for a Change." She says to Congress: Welcome back. We hope you had a nice vacation. We hope you will use the few weeks that remain to govern, rather than to position yourselves politically.

That is my message today. We have unfinished business. I will go through some specifics. I am not going to just stand up and talk in generalities. I want to be specific.

One of the first things we have to deal with is school safety. Our children are back at school. We have provisions in the juvenile justice bill that are now in conference that can make schools safer. We also have provisions in the commerce bill that will make schools safer. What are some of these?

The Gregg-Boxer amendment that is in the Commerce bill, which would provide \$200 million for school safety activities, including security equipment, hiring more police officers, and violence prevention programs for our children, is a bipartisan provision. It passed overwhelmingly. It ought to move forward. We ought to have that help for our schools.

The gun control provisions in juvenile justice that are so very important and, might I add, are not radical—they are very moderate—I want to see us pass.

We closed the gun show loophole that allowed criminals to get guns at gun shows without going through background checks. We banned the importation of high-capacity ammunition clips which are used in semiautomatic assault weapons. We required child safety devices be sold with every handgun. We required the Federal Trade Commission and the Attorney General to study the extent to which the gun industry is marketing its products to our students, our children. We made it illegal to sell or give a semiautomatic weapon to anyone under the age of 18. That is an assault weapon.

These are very simple. They are very straightforward. We passed them in the Senate, and they are in conference. I have yet to see that conference committee meet. I certainly hope it will. I look forward to the opportunity for getting the people's business of protecting our children done. That is school safety.

We have a lot of other unfinished business. There are not that many things but they are all very important. We have the issue of saving Medicare—a very important part of the President's proposal, saving Medicare. We have to get down to it. We have to do it. We have the issue of paying down the debt. We have a huge debt. We have an opportunity with the surplus to pay it down and save all those interest payments on the debt that we continue to pay out every single day, \$1 billion a day just to pay the interest payment on the debt that has accumulated since the 1980s. We ought to pay that down.

On the minimum wage, I was amazed to see a report in the Los Angeles Times about the condition of people who live in Los Angeles County. I know my friend, the Chaplain, is from that area. More than 20 percent of Los Angeles County residents live below the official poverty line. That is \$16,450 a year for a family of four. This is reflective of a lot of people in our Nation. It is not just Los Angeles. When most people think of Los Angeles, they think of Hollywood. They think of millionaires. They have to understand what is happening to real people.

Twenty percent are living in poverty. One out of every three children in Los Angeles lives in poverty. If you go to Los Angeles and see little children, one out of three of them is living in poverty. That is up from one out of four in 1990.

You might say: Well, maybe it is just minority kids. No, it is a lot of children, across the board. It is 21 percent of Anglo children living in poverty; 21 percent of Asian American children are living in poverty in Los Angeles; 33 percent of African American children

are living in poverty in Los Angeles; 43 percent of Latino children are living in poverty in Los Angeles; 12 percent of elderly people are living in poverty in Los Angeles, an increase from 9 percent in 1990; 2.7 million residents of Los Angeles County have no health insurance.

What I am saying is, when we talk about the minimum wage, this is real. Most of these people are working very hard. What is happening in our society today is people are working hard at the very bottom levels. I think the least we can do in this incredible economic climate that so many of us are benefiting from is to raise that minimum wage, save Medicare, help our seniors, pay down the debt, help the future, pass these safety provisions so our kids are safe in school, and pass a Patients' Bill of Rights. We have a watered down bill in the Senate but they are going to pass a good one in the House. Get them into conference and pass it, bring it out.

Finally, campaign finance reform is so important. Of all these issues I have mentioned, I am sad to say our majority leader has only put one on the agenda for his must-do list. That is campaign finance reform. I am glad it is there. It is there because there was a threat to shut down this place if it wasn't on there, but I am glad it is on the list. All of these other things are not there.

What is worse, when you look at the most important thing the Republican majority wants to do, it is going to hurt all these other things, because it is a huge tax cut of \$800 billion that is going to help the people at the upper echelons and hurt everyone else. There won't be any money for Medicare. There won't be any money to save that program. There won't be any money to pay down the debt so we can be good to our grandchildren and their children. There won't be anything for education. There won't be anything for the environment.

I say to my friends, let's do what the people want us to do. Let us take care of business.

There was an extraordinary field poll done in California. I think it is very instructive, and it is amazing in the scope of what it said.

It said that more than 80 percent of the people of California agreed with the President's approach to the budget, which, as we know, is to take that surplus and use a third of it for tax cuts for the middle class, a third of it for Medicare, and a third of it for education, the environment, health research. Now, this means the majority of Republicans agree with the President on this point.

I think we have a golden opportunity to come together on issues that mean a lot to the people: school safety, a Patients' Bill of Rights, campaign finance reform, raising the minimum wage, saving Medicare, paying down the debt,

targeted tax relief to the middle class, not to those at the very top who are doing very well.

And the reason I shared the survey with you on the poverty in Los Angeles is that while the economy is terrific and is going very well in California, the gap between the rich and the poor is growing mightily. Those of us who care about our fellow human beings cannot turn our backs on this, regardless of our party, because it is a recipe for problems in the future.

Mr. President, I thank you for your indulgence. I know my colleague, Senator DORGAN, has a lot to say on these and other matters. Again, I compliment my friends who are taking the lead on the East Timor situation. We have unfinished business to do. Let's get it done and do it across the party aisle and go home proud of our accomplishments.

I yield the floor.

#### DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, JUSTICE, AND STATE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2000

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the order of the Senate on July 22, the Senate having received H.R. 2670, the Senate will proceed to the bill, all after the enacting clause is stricken, the text of S. 1217 is inserted, H.R. 2670 is read the third time and passed, the Senate insists on its amendment, requests a conference with the House, and the Chair appoints Mr. GREGG, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mrs. HUTCHISON of Texas, Mr. CAMPBELL, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. INOUE, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Ms. MIKULSKI, and Mr. BYRD conferees on the part of the Senate.

(The text of S. 1217 is printed in the RECORD of July 27, 1999)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

#### THE COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, on October 6, 7, and 8, there will be a meeting in Vienna, Austria. It will be among countries that have ratified something called the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. That treaty is embodied in this document I hold in my hand.

Now, what is the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty? It is a treaty negotiated by a number of countries around the world; 152 countries, in fact, have signed the treaty and 44 countries have ratified the treaty. It is a treaty designed to prohibit any further explosive testing of nuclear weapons anywhere in the world, at any time, under any condition.

This treaty ought to be an easy treaty for this country and this Senate to ratify. But we have not done so. At a

time when India and Pakistan explode nuclear weapons literally under each other's chins—these are two countries that don't like each other—at a time when we have evidence of more proliferation of nuclear weapons into the hands of countries that want access to nuclear weapons with which to, in some cases, defend themselves, perhaps in other cases to terrorize the rest of the world, this country ought to be exhibiting leadership. It is our moral responsibility to provide leadership in the world on these issues. This country ought to provide leadership on the issue of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

We have not ratified this treaty. At the meeting in Vienna, countries that have ratified it will participate in discussing the implementation of this treaty, and this country will not be an active participant. Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Canada, Italy, Norway, Poland, and France will be but we will not. We are the largest nuclear superpower on Earth and we have not ratified this treaty.

What about nuclear weapons and nuclear war? I was in the presence of a nuclear weapon recently at a military installation. If you stand a foot or two away from a nuclear weapon and look at it, it is a relatively small canister-looking device that, upon explosion, will devastate portions of our Earth.

Going back nearly 40 years to an address by John F. Kennedy, he said something about nuclear weapons. In fact, he quoted Nikita Khrushchev:

Since the beginning of history, war has been mankind's constant companion. It has been the rule, not the exception. Even a nation as young and as peace-loving as our own has fought through eight wars. A war today or tomorrow, if it led to nuclear war, would not be like any war in history. A full-scale nuclear exchange, lasting less than 60 minutes, with the weapons now in existence, could wipe out more than 300 million Americans, Europeans, and Russians, as well as untold numbers elsewhere. And the survivors, as Chairman Khrushchev warned the Communist Chinese, "the survivors would envy the dead." For they would inherit a world so devastated by explosions and poison and fire that today we cannot even conceive of its horrors.

This country and Russia have 30,000 nuclear weapons between them. Other countries want nuclear weapons, and they want them badly. To the extent that any other country cannot test nuclear weapons, no one will know whether they have a nuclear weapon that works. No one will have certainty that they have access to nuclear weaponry. That is why the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is so critical.

Now, where is it? Well, it is here in the Senate. It has been here 716 days, with not even 1 day of hearings. Not one. Virtually every other treaty sent to the Senate has been given a hearing and has been brought to the Senate floor and debated and voted upon. The issue of the proliferation of nuclear